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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

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602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[1] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[2] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[1] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiina hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[2] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
• 883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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Awa mending a fish net. She is repairing the hoop with a piece of split liana. Awa, Mar's real sister, was one of the adolescent girls of Rumbima hamlet. See Chapter V.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret

121 883 836 love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

November 29, 1936.

115 About a week ago Oviyap and Tip were down at the market place watching
883 the women trading. A girl came up to Oviyap and talked with him. He then
584 told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

115 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had
836 intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had,
123 and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nam (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 ● 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

115 752 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Who was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[132 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Gwiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 Gwiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwum carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Gwiyap finally found that another Hongwum had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Gwiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Gwiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mas' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bona nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mas' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want Mey to know, for he might tell Mar.